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DISCOURSE AND POWER IN DEVELOPMENT: MICHEL FOUCAULT AND THE RELEVANCE OF HIS WORK TO THE THIRD WORLD*

Arturo ESCOBAR†

> *There is a sense in which rapid economic progress is impossible without painful adjustments. Ancient philosophies have to be scrapped; old social institutions have to disintegrate; bonds of caste, creed and race have to burst; and large numbers of persons who cannot keep up with progress have to have their expectations of a comfortable life frustrated. Very few communities are willing to pay the full price of economic progress.*
>
> —United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries*, May 1951

Introduction

Michel Foucault's fundamental insights into the nature and dynamics of discourse, power and knowledge in Western societies enable us to conduct similar inquiries regarding the present situation of the Third World in at least two important respects: the extension to the Third World of Western disciplinary and normalizing mechanisms in a variety of fields; and the production of discourses by Western countries about the Third World as a means of effecting domination over it. During the last four decades, these discourses have crystallized in a strategy of unprecedented scope, namely, the strategy

*The author wishes to thank Professors Sheldon Margen, Paul Rabinow and Hubert Dreyfus for their helpful comments and invaluable support. The material on "the discourse of development" was largely developed as part of Michel Foucault's working seminar at Berkeley in the Fall of 1983. The reader acquainted with Foucault's work will be well aware of its crucial importance for the work presented here.

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for dealing with the problems of "underdevelopment" which emerged and became consolidated in the span of a few years after the Second World War. After presenting the rudiments of such discourse of development, it is concluded that not only does the deployment of development contribute significantly to maintaining domination and economic exploitation, but that the discourse itself has to be dismantled if the countries of the "Third World" want to pursue a different type of development. The implications in terms of strategies of resistance are then explored briefly.

Michel Foucault's work was restricted to European societies. While acknowledging his ignorance of societies other than his own, he enthusiastically encouraged people to undertake similar inquiries concerning other places and cultures, such as Third World societies. He himself referred at times to the importance of studying the transfer of technology to the Third World, its potentially positive effects, its problems and dangers.

One might ask, why the Third World? A number of reasons arise from Foucault's work itself. First of all, the totalizing character of power and the will to knowledge—Foucault's fundamental preoccupations—and their tendency to assume increasingly global forms make almost inevitable their steady and insidious spread to all societies. Secondly, the very tools he developed to analyze power and the will to knowledge make it possible to study how this is happening in the Third World as well. Thirdly, because the Third World is the realm *par excellence* of all forms of power in today's world (from the most brutal forms of torture to sophisticated power techniques). Finally, because there are important connections between the processes through which power is exercised (and resisted) in both the Third World and the developed countries.

In the paragraphs that follow, we would like to sketch out, in a very general and provisional manner, a response to the following questions: How do we relate, in both theory and practice, the critique of disciplinary society and normalizing technologies provided by Foucault—as well as his insights into the workings of discourse and power—with the situation and struggles in the Third World? In what ways are disciplinary and normalizing tendencies contributing to the domination of the Third World? Finally, what implications does Foucault's view of power have for strategies of resistance in the Third World?

Foucault's "history of the present"

Very broadly, Foucault's interest lies in the study of those practices by which men govern themselves and others through the establishment of domains

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in which the distinction between true and false is made. For him, these practices lead to the development of modes of objectification that transform human beings into subjects, and to the production of a disciplinary society for the sake of welfare. Individualizing techniques (in military barracks, schools, factories and hospitals) lead to the production of "docile bodies;" the practices of surveillance, examination and scientific classification, on the other hand, result in the production of "normalized subjects." Finally, confessional techniques and processes of self-subjection (e.g. as in psychiatry, psychoanalysis and sexuality) lead to objectifying processes in which people turn themselves into objects. An "anatomo-politics of the human body" which operates through disciplines, and a "bio-politics of populations" which operates through regulatory controls are established and they constitute the poles around which a new form of power, "bio-power", is deployed. These processes of disciplining and normalization were constitutive of, and indispensable for, the development of capitalism. The subjugation of bodies and the control of populations are the objectives of this type of power today.

Foucault's investigations are intended to develop an understanding of the specific ways in which these processes of discipline, normalization and the deployment of power have taken place within the field of certain fundamental experiences (madness, illness, knowledge in the human sciences, crime, sexuality). To this end, he directs his attention to the discursive practices associated with these experiences, in the belief that the manifold operations of power are at once most visible and most difficult to identify in such practices and that, moreover, it is in discourse that power and knowledge are joined together. It is Foucault's fundamental contention that in every society the production of discourse is controlled, organized and redistributed according to a certain number of procedures. His aim is thus to study the specificity of the production of discourses and discursive practices in Western society.

Discourses, according to Foucault, have systematic structures, and they should be studied archeologically, i.e. by identifying the different elements of which they are composed, and the system of relations by which these elements form wholes. More importantly, they should be studied genealogically. Genealogy is concerned with the effective formation of discourse by nondiscursive practices, such as socioeconomic factors, institutions, administrative requirements, etc. The genealogist undertakes a diagnosis of a current situation by concentrating on the political technologies constituted by the interrelationship of contemporary forms of power and knowledge. The objective of his study are those practices of modern culture embodied in specific technologies, their localization in different discourses, institutions and disciplines, and the processes by which they arise and develop. This is

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what Foucault calls "writing the history of the present." His detailed studies of madness, medicine, the human sciences, the prison and sexuality are part of this history of the present.[1]

A strategy of resistance

It is only by writing this history of the present that we can develop "a historical awareness of our present circumstance," that we can "know the historical conditions which motivate our conceptualization."[2] Moreover, only through this type of history, through the struggles to which it should lead, will we be able to develop "a new economy of power relations." We can work towards this new economy of power by taking the forms of resistance against different kinds of power as a starting point, i.e. to study those forms of resistance which question the status of the individual, the privileges of knowledge, the misrepresentations imposed on people, as well as various forms of exploitation, domination and subjection.

Foucault distinguishes between three major types of struggle: (i) against forms of exploitation (which separate individuals from what they produce), led by the working classes; (ii) against forms of domination (social, ethnic, sexual, religious, professional, etc.), conducted by individuals and groups in their own terrain; and (iii) against modern forms of subjection (i.e. those forms of subjection, subjectivity and submission which tie the individual to himself and submit him to others as an individual, such as pyschiatry and sexuality). Although the mechanisms of subjection have to be studied in relation to the mechanisms of exploitation and domination, the former are not merely the "terminal" manifestation of the latter.

These three forms coexist in various ways in any given society, although one of them usually prevails. In modern European societies, for instance, the struggles against forms of subjection—which question the status of the individual, the right to be different—are becoming more and more important, although struggles against domination and exploitation have by no means disappeared.[3]

In other words, power relations are immanent in other types of relations (economic, sexual, familial, of knowledge, etc.); they are the result of the disequilibria of the latter—and, at the same time, the basis of their transformation. They are not in a superstructural position, but have a directly productive role of their own. Moreover, it is the interweaving of power relations with those other types of relations that "sketches out the general facts of domination... [which] is organized in a more or less coherent and unitary strategy."[4] Thus what needs to be studied is the proliferation of

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"local centers" of power-knowledge, their patterns of transformation, the ways in which they enter into an overall strategy and, finally, the ways in which the latter finds support in the former.

Thus, for Foucault, any strategy which overlooks this manifold structure of power is self-defeating. To the multiplicity of forms of power, we must respond with a multiplicity of localized resistances and counteroffensives. These localized resistances, however, must be of a radical and uncompromising character if they are to confront the totality of power. Rather than a massive revolutionary process, the strategy must be aimed at developing a network of struggles, points of resistance, and popular bases. This does not mean, however, that global processes should be abandoned. Like power, the multiplicity of resistances may be integrated into global strategies. Although radical ruptures are occasionally possible, "it is doubtless the strategic codification of points of resistance that makes a revolution possible, somewhat similar to the ways in which the state relies on the institutional integration of power relationships."[5] The important question, then, is to analyze the specificity of power (among individuals, groups, activities, and so on) in order to develop a knowledge of strategies, and to bring about new schemes of politicization of individuals, intellectuals, workers and oppressed groups on whom power is exercised.

Some global facts of the problematization of life and culture

The history of Western and, increasingly, non-Western societies, especially during the modern period, is of a steady process of appropriation and consequent disposition of societal background practices, common social meanings and cultural contents through a series of discourses, institutions, and practices[6]—a process by which the material conditions of life and the unspoken mechanisms of culture are brought into the realm of explicit calculations and subjected to an infinite number of forms of power-knowledge.

It is perhaps within the context of this continuous appropriation and disposition that we can most adequately and fruitfully understand Michel Foucault's work. By studying the ways in which certain behaviors, situations or ideas became problematized in Western society at specific points in time, and the discourses, institutions and practices associated with such problematizations, he has shed invaluable light on crucial processes of appropriation and disposition. By studying, for instance, how and why certain behaviors or conditions were, after the Renaissance, seen as a problem, brought together and analyzed as "madness," and the ways in which medicine and psychiatry took charge of the mad person by producing

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endless discourses about him, he helped us understand—with invaluable precision and detail—the appropriation of the fundamental experiences of the human mind, the governing of the psychic phenomena, and their disposition through institutionalizing a regime of reason and truth.[7]

Habermas has contributed another set of elements for understanding the global rationality which characterizes these processes in advanced industrial societies. In these societies, according to Habermas, state intervention shifts the crisis tendencies of the system originating in the economic realm—obeying the imperatives of capital accumulation—to the administrative, political and sociocultural systems—in order to insure the continued existence of the mode of production. Politically, the system takes over the task of ideology planning. The cultural system is thus invaded by the political; a number of cultural aspects, usually taken for granted (implicit social knowledge, background practices and shared meanings) are brought into the realm of public, scientific and political discourses. Once long established cultural contents are unsettled, they can be stabilized only through discourse; the culture's capacity for self-definition is thus progressively eroded. Administrative planning encroaches on schools, hospitals, factories, cities, media, and so forth. Cultural meanings become scarce whereas consumable values rise. Norms are altered and theoretical and practical discourses are institutionalized and controlled.[8]

A view of the Third World

How can we see the situation and struggles of the Third World from this perspective? At a very general level, we can say that new types of power and knowledge are being deployed in the Third World which try to insure the conformity of its peoples to a certain type of economic and cultural behavior (broadly speaking, that embodied in "the American way of life"). Through this process, not only the economic, but increasingly also the sociocultural and political systems are being progressively permeated and appropriated by the socioeconomic and cultural systems of the "advanced" countries, obeying chiefly, though not exclusively, economic imperatives. Noneconomic spheres thus acquire a growing importance *vis-a-vis* the economic sphere, in relation to the processes by which exploitation and domination are effected and maintained.

Within this general perspective, a strategy of resistance by Third World peoples should be based upon the recognition of three major factors:

1. That there still exist important areas of cultural meanings and practices

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which have not yet fallen under the sway of Western disciplinary and normalizing processes. Among these areas, those considered important and positive should be defended, strengthened and strategically opposed to the appropriating and appropriated forms by developing new ways of cultural politicization, the strategic use of the past and of national and subnational traditions, etc.[9]

2. That although class compromise takes place at some levels, class struggle and class conflict are by no means latent (as they tend to be in more industrialized societies). Any strategy of resistance must thus be conscious of the class structure of the society in which it takes place. In the Third World, mechanisms of exploitation and domination prevail, although contemporary forms of subjection (from Coca-Cola as a cultural item to therapies for the middle classes, consumer values, life-styles, and so forth) are increasingly gaining importance and contributing to the maintenance of exploitation and class differentials. Given the fact that power is exercised chiefly to maintain economic exploitation, localized struggles against forms of domination and subjection, carried out by individuals and groups in the terrain of their own activities, enter into a class revolutionary process insofar as they are uncompromising and nonreformist struggles against specific forms of power. These localized strategies may cover a wide range of issues, such as political activities, professional practices, repression in terms of ethnicity, sexual preferences, opposition to specific programs and technologies, educational strategies, and so forth.

3. That there exist several grand strategies constructed by the developed countries which play a crucial role in maintaining domination over the Third World. We shall mention two of these, although only one of them will be elaborated upon here. The first one is the discourse on the underdevelopment of the Third World constructed by the developed countries. This discourse is associated with the whole apparatus of development (from international organizations, such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund, to local-level development agencies) as well as the large number of theories of development produced especially by international organizations and by scholars at North American and European campuses. We will elaborate upon this discourse in the next section of the paper.

A second grand contemporary strategy for the penetration and control of the Third World is embodied in communication and information technologies, especially the mass media, television and commercial cinema. Although it would be of great value to analyze these mechanisms in terms of power and knowledge, such an analysis is well beyond the scope of the present paper.[10]

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The discourse of development

Foucault's insights into the control of the production of discourse and the workings of power and knowledge enable us to conduct a radical reinterpretation of development theory and practice. The overall contention of such reinterpretation can be stated as follows: that without examining development as discourse we cannot understand the systematic ways in which the Western developed countries have been able to manage and control and, in many ways, even create the Third World politically, economically, sociologically and culturally;[11] and that, although underdevelopment is a very real historical formation, it has given rise to a series of practices (promoted by the discourses of the West) which constitute one of the most powerful mechanisms for insuring domination over the Third World today.

The aim of this approach should be to investigate the formation of this discourse of development and, more specifically, to identify the appearance, development and articulation of a general strategy for dealing with the problems of underdevelopment, the practices generated by such a strategy, the mechanisms by which these practices operate and, in general, the ways in which development enters into a nexus of power and knowledge, i.e. the ways in which development is "put into discourse."[12] In this way, development will be seen, not as a matter of scientific knowledge, a body of theories and programs concerned with the achievement of true progress, but rather as a series of political technologies intended to manage and give shape to the reality of the Third World.

Three major factors should be considered in this type of analysis: the historical conditions under which the discourse arose; the structure of the discourse itself; and the relations of power and knowledge made possible by the deployment of development. Only a very succinct account of these three factors will be given here.[13] Finally, the appearance of counter-discourses will also be analyzed briefly.

1. Historical conditions

European and, more recently, North American interest in much of Asia, Africa and Latin America dates back to the discovery and conquest of "new worlds." This interest has gone through a series of identifiable stages up to the present. Before 1945, it barely revealed a general and explicit strategy for dealing with what came to be known after the war as "the underdeveloped world." Between 1945 and 1955, in the climate of the great postwar transformations, a whole new strategy for dealing with the problems of what came to be known during this period as the "underdeveloped world"

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emerged and took definite shape. The character of the relations between rich and poor countries, the scope they occupied, the form they acquired, the mechanisms by which they operated, all were subjected to a substantial mutation. All that was important in the economic, social, political and cultural life of the poor countries (their population, processes of capital accumulation, agriculture and trade, natural resources, administration and cultural values, etc.) entered into this new strategy. The first "missions" sent to the underdeveloped world by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development during the late 1940s and early 1950s, with the purpose of formulating "comprehensive" development programs, were one of the first concrete expressions of this new strategy. So, too, were the array of international organizations concerned with development, as well as the profusion of "experts" in all types of development fields, all of which appeared during this period.

Very broadly stated, the historical context under which the new strategy arose can be summarized as follows. There was a reorganization of power at the world level (which included the breakdown of old colonial systems in Asia and Africa, the successful march of Chinese communists to power, and the beginning of the "cold war"), the final result of which was far from clear. Important changes had occurred in the structure of production, and they had to be made to fit the requirements of accumulation of a capitalist system in which the countries of the "Third World" occupied an increasingly important, even if not yet fully defined, role. These countries could forge alliances with any pole of power. In the light of expanding communism, the steady deterioration of their life conditions, and the alarming increase of their populations, the direction in which they would go will depend largely upon actions which are urgent in character and unprecedented in scope.

Rich countries, on the other hand, were believed to have the financial and technological capacity to secure their brand of progress the world over. A look at their own past instilled in them the conviction, magnified by the success of the Marshall Plan, that this was not only possible, let alone desirable, but perhaps even inevitable. Sooner or later the poor countries would become rich, and the underdeveloped world would be developed. International organizations had been set up to help these countries pursue their goals. A new type of economic knowledge (e.g. the reentry of economic growth into the scope of economic analysis) and an enriched experience with the design and management of complex systems (e.g. the Tennessee Valley Authority and a variety of planning mechanisms) made this goal seem even more plausible. It was only a matter of adopting the appropriate strategy to do it, of setting in motion the right forces to ensure progress and global happiness.

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This was achieved for the poor countries at the cost of much greater intervention. Behind the humanitarian concern and the positive outlook of the new strategy, new forms of power and control, more subtle and refined, were put into operation. The poor countries became the target of ever more sophisticated practices, of a variety of programs that seemed to be inescapable. From the new institutions of power in the United States and Europe, from the offices of the new international organizations and lending institutions, from North American and European campuses, research centers and foundations, from the new planning offices of the big capitals of the underdeveloped world, this was the type of development that was actively promoted and that, in a few years, was to extend its reach to all aspects of the social body.[14]

.2. *The structure of discourse*

A survey of the few general treatises on economic development written before 1958, along with the reports of the missions sent by international organizations to Third World countries reveals the broad structure of the discourse to which the new strategy gave rise. The elements with which development began to deal were numerous and varied, encompassing all economic, social and political aspects of importance, at all levels: rural and urban; local, regional, and national; sectoral and integrated; etc.[15]

Development, however, was not merely the result of these elements, or of their combination and gradual elaboration; nor was it the product of the practices to which they gave rise or of the introduction of new knowledge and ideas. It was not the effect of the new international organizations, or of a new sensibility to poverty, or of the success of the Marshall Plan. It was rather the result of the establishment and systematization of a set of relations among these elements, institutions and practices, of the particular type of organization of these various elements made possible by this set of relations. The discourse of development was not constituted by the array of possible objects included under its domain, but by the way in which, thanks to this set of relations, it was able to form systematically the objects of which it spoke, to group them and arrange them in certain ways, to give them a unity of their own.[16]

The basic organization of this discourse—i.e. the basic system of relations between the key variables of capital, technology, and certain institutions—laid down during the period 1945-1955, has remained for the most part invariant, although it allowed the system to undergo a series of changes. It includes new elements and variables, develops new modes of operation, and so forth. It was the systematization of these relations that conferred upon this discourse

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its great dynamic quality: its immanent adaptability to changing conditions, which allowed it to survive, indeed to thrive, up to the present. The result has been the uninterrupted succession of "development strategies" and substrategies, always within the confines of the same discursive space in which we are still encapsulated.

3. The deployment of development

The discourse of development that we have described briefly has made possible an endless number of practices through which new mechanisms of control, i.e. new forms of power and knowledge, are deployed. The deployment of development has operated through three major strategies, all of which carry with them disciplinary and normalizing elements:

(*i*) *The progressive incorporation of problems.* The discourse formed after the war brought with it the multiplication of problems to be dealt with. Once a problem was incorporated into the domain of development, it had to be categorized and further specified. In many ways, development was preceded by the creation of "abnormalities" such as the "underdeveloped," the "malnourished," the "illiterate"—which it would later treat and reform. The specification of problems required detailed observations in Third World households, villages, regions and countries. Complete dossiers were elaborated, and information gathering and dissemination designed and constantly refined. It constituted a whole political anatomy of the Third World which sought not so much to illuminate problems and possible solutions as to give them a visible reality amenable to specific treatments. This first strategy resulted in the formation of a *field of intervention of power,* the establishment of an ever more encompassing domain of intervention.

(*ii*) *The professionalization of development.* This was effected through the proliferation of development disciplines and subdisciplines. Such professionalization (or, better perhaps, "technification") allowed experts to remove from the political realm problems which would otherwise be political, and to recast them into the apparently more neutral realm of science. It would lead in a few years to the consolidation of "development studies" in most major universities of the developed world. The policies and programs that originated out of this vast field of knowledge inevitably carried with them strong normative and teleological components. What was at stake was a type of knowledge that sought to establish the nature of Third World countries, to classify their problems and formulate policies, to pass judgement on them and visualize their future—to produce, in short, a regime of truth and norms

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about development. This second strategy sought the formation of a *field of control of knowledge,* through which "truth" (and, so, power) was produced.

Within this second major strategy, special attention should be given to the ways in which development economics was able to "economize" development. This process of "economization," by which all realities and development subdisciplines were subjected to the rationality espoused by development economists, is undoubtedly of crucial importance. Its specificity, however, must be analyzed within the context of the establishment of economics as a "positive," "objective," science, thanks in part to the development—during the past two hundred years— of a culture in which a specific economic rationality (based on certain institutions such as money, markets, banks, etc.) became dominant. This process which one can perhaps call "the economization of life" was intimately linked to the development of capitalism; it entailed as necessary prerequisites the establishment of the normative discourse of classical political economy, the adoption of certain principles of government. . .and the introduction of new forms of discipline and control.[17]

(*iii*) *The institutionalization of development.* This process took place at various levels, ranging from the international organizations and national planning bodies to local level development agencies. These institutions became the agents of the deployment of development, the network of new sites of power which, taken as a whole, constituted the apparatus of development. It was (and still is) largely through this network and system of regulatory controls that people and communities are bound to certain cycles of production, certain behaviors and rationalities. This strategy resulted in the *dispersion of local centres of power-knowledge,* i.e. the establishment of a multiplicity of sites of power which made possible the disciplinary system of development.

The analysis of the deployment of development through these three great strategies leads us to the conclusion that development has been successful to the extent that it has been able to penetrate, integrate, manage and control countries and populations in increasingly detailed and encompassing ways. If it has failed to solve the problems of underdevelopment, it can also be said, perhaps with greater pertinence, that it has succeeded well in creating a type of underdevelopment which has been until now, for the most part, politically and economically manageable.

After four decades of "new knowledge," we still hold to the same basic tenets. The forms of power that have appeared act not so much by repression as by normalization; not by ignorance, but according to carefully regulated knowledge; not by humanitarian concern, but by the moralization of issues. As the conditions that gave rise to it become more pressing, it can only increase its hold, refine its methods, extend its reach even further.

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Our analysis has been restricted to a short period, but one that saw a crucial threshold for the Third World and a number of fundamental changes in the international sphere. These changes were not the result of a radical epistemological or political breakthrough (this has yet to occur), but of a reorganization of a number of factors that allowed the "Third World" to display a new visibility and to erupt into a new realm of language. This new space was carved up out of the vast and dense surface of the Third World, placing it into a new field of power. It constituted the historical conditions of the possibility of a number of development sciences accepted as positive and true. Through them, underdevelopment became the subject of political technologies which sought to erase it from the face of the earth, but which ended up, instead, multiplying it to infinity.

We have tried to show that this discourse has a validity of its own which goes beyond the materiality of "underdevelopment" itself, and in fact profoundly affects it. That this materiality is not conjured up by an "objective" body of knowledge, but rather that it is charted out by the rational discourses of economists, politicians and development experts should already be clear. What has been achieved is a specific configuration of factors and forces in which the new language of development finds its support. Thus *development* (as discourse) is a very real historical formation, albeit articulated around a fictitious construct ("underdevelopment") and upon a certain materiality (i.e. certain conditions of life baptized as "underdevelopment"), which we must seek to conceptualize in different ways.

To be sure, there is a situation of economic exploitation that must be recognized and dealt with. Power is too cynical at the level of exploitation and should be resisted on its own terms. The requirements of capital accumulation on a world scale, and the contradictions inherent in such a process, on the other hand, determine the specificity of exploitation and greatly affect the constitution of the discourse itself. The conditions of social and sectoral disarticulation prevailing in Third World countries, for instance, influence the strategies adopted as regards the patterns of capital accumulation, labour policies, promotion of certain crops, etc.[18] Yet the ways in which the discourse organizes these elements goes beyond the economic realm and cannot be easily analyzed in terms of direct causal relations.

To be sure, too, there is a certain materiality (of life conditions) that is extremely preoccupying and which requires continuous effort and attention. But we have long ago lost sight of this materiality by building upon it a new reality that has haunted us for decades. Why, for instance, and by what processes, did the experience of hunger (lack of adequate food intake) become successively green revolution, agrarian reform, single cell protein, integrated

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rural development, comprehensive food and nutrition planning, and sectoral food policies? Why such a host of food and applied nutrition programs, of nutritional, agricultural and economic sciences devoted to this problem? What has been their impact? Should we not examine instead the ways in which the fundamental experience of hunger has been invested by Western forms of power (and, in this way, see the body of the malnourished as the most pathetic sign of power over the Third World)? And, in relation to all other development problems, why and by what processes did specific political technologies arise in response to local objectives, themselves linked to welfare concerns?

Finally, at the same time that we write the history of the investment of the Third World by Western forms of power and rationality, should we not start to look at that materiality—at those basic conditions of life that characterize the "Third World"—with new eyes and new categories, perhaps different from the ones in vogue today?

4. Counterdiscourses and resistance

It was a given historical conjunction that made necessary the deployment of development. If it is true that this deployment made possible the advance of social control over the Third World, it is also true that at the same time it made possible the emergence of opposing discourses. The leaders and intellectuals of the countries of the Third World began to speak on behalf of their own people, to use similar weapons in order to pursue their own interests, often times with the same vocabulary and espousing the same goals. These counterdiscourses (some more or less accommodating or susceptible to co-optation, some more or less radical than others) operated for the most part within the same discursive space and within the same field of power of the dominant strategy. To what extent did they undermine power, forcing it to bend its arm in their own favour? Or, conversely, to what extent and in what ways were they circumvented, appropriated and subverted by the prevailing discourse? The answer to these questions would undoubtedly be of great importance for new strategies of resistance.

A number of notions linked to development, some of which might have otherwise played a positive role, were easily co-opted by the established system and rendered ineffective or counterproductive. Some of these notions did not originate within the most powerful institutions, but were soon appropriated by them (e.g. the notion of basic needs, adopted by the World Bank as a major policy instrument). Other types of notions or approaches, transposed from other locations or historical contexts where they perhaps originally had a liberating character, met a similar fate. Such was the case, for

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instance, with rural cooperatives (conceived on European models) in Latin America during the sixties, with popular education and literacy programs during the sixties and seventies (some of which succeeded in subverting the Freirian pedagogical principles by linking oppression to production and low productivity in what was called "functional literacy"), and with the notion of participation in development—promoted by international organizations and universities in the developed world—strictly conceived in an utilitarian fashion while denying the political character of participation.[19] As in the case of the rural cooperatives, the experience of participation in development is another eloquent proof of the fact that the importation of models or ideological doctrines from a different cultural and historical context is often times a counterproductive or diversionary strategy as far as development is concerned.[20]

Somewhat related to the notion of participation, but conceived in an entirely different manner, is the notion of participatory action research (PAR). PAR grew out of experiences in popular education and grass-roots activism in a number of countries in Latin America, Asia and Africa during the seventies, and it is presently one of the most hopeful lines of research and action in the Third World. Central to PAR philosophy is the question of popular power, i.e. the investigation of the mechanisms necessary to develop popular counter-power for social transformation and their relation to the production of knowledge. Thus it seeks to generate popular power, not only "to develop." PAR projects combine techniques of adult education, social science research and political activism. Some of the methods that have been successfully used in these projects include collective research (between external agents or intellectuals and the popular groups concerned, always taking popular knowledge as the starting point for research and action); the critical reconstruction of local or regional histories (geared towards preparing for action and correcting official histories); the restoration and use of popular cultures (including the use of people's feelings, imagination and artistic capabilities, activist tendencies, popular language); and the use of novel means of diffusing knowledge (all knowledge being considered the property of the community). Achievements of PAR projects have included, for instance, legal or forcible repossession of land, participation in existing local or regional institutions, creation of new local organizations, production of local history books, audio-visuals, community newsletters, theatre, and so on. In a few cases, PAR projects have already formed networks that have led to the emergence of important nonparty regional movements.[21]

From a philosophical point of view, participatory action research constitutes a radical departure from traditional Western philosophy. By its very nature, it rejects the subject/object division, central to Western

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philosophy and empiricist social science, and transforms them into a subject-subject project. First of all, PAR creates a dialectical tension between the local people (problematizing their alienation and feelings of inferiority by emphasizing popular culture) and the external agents or intellectuals (who are led to overcome their class position and any illusion of vanguardism). Secondly, by sharing with the popular groups their goals of social transformation and their political commitment, the external agents do not create relations of submission and dependence. Thirdly, this mutual commitment tends to produce open-ended projects, which may branch out in various directions and last a good number of years (contrary to the practice of traditional research projects). Finally, PAR projects are assessed in terms of the quality of the practices/actions they enable, including their pluralistic and truly democratic character, and not in terms of some abstract criteria of "objective" knowledge.[22]

Since one of the major foundations of power is truth, the knowledge of that truth—i.e. its invention and confirmation—becomes a major mechanism for the legitimation of the hegemonic forms of power within a given system. Discourse thus seeks its legitimacy in a carefully controlled definition of science and truth. The counterdiscourse of participatory research, initiated in the Third World, conceives of popular science as the result of an endogenous process in which theory-building and popular organization for action are combined. Within this process of social theory as practice, not only existing social conditions, but science itself, are permanently transformed. In this way, it constitutes a radical challenge to the regime of knowledge and truth that has ruled discourse and life up to the present—which brings us back to the main subject of our paper.

Some general propositions

Participatory action research is not an isolated instance of counterdiscourse and resistance. Although perhaps still somewhat dispersed, other similar offensives against hegemonic powers and theories are also taking place the world over. Some of these are grass-roots movements, whereas others have a more global character.[23] Perhaps these movements can be related to what Foucault has called "the insurrection of subjugated knowledges" which has taken place during the past 15 years, or the reactivation of local knowledges," a variety of "popular knowledges" which defies the authority of any arbitrary idea of science and truth. At the center of his genealogical project is an investigation of these subjugated knowledges in such a way that their critical contents are tactically released in local struggles.[24] Besides the

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local character of these struggles, what matters is their autonomous, non-centralized and non-hierarchical character and the fact that their validity has ceased to depend on the approval of the established regimes of thought.

To sum up, a Foucauldian perspective on the Third World would begin with the conceptualization of development on the basis of the system and techniques constructed for the deployment of power in its midst. Besides giving an account of the problems (economic progress or dependency, etc.), one must investigate the investment of the Third World by Western forms of rationality (political, economic, cultural), the use of forms of power and knowledge, the establishment of mechanisms of control, and the constitution of discourses and practices. One must reconstruct the "strategic connection" of these discourses and practices in order to make visible the very fine web laid out by them throughout history. More specifically, we would like to postulate the following provisional hypotheses, to be further explored and refined:

1. Parallel to the global process of capital accumulation (and closely associated with, though not reduced to it), there is a global process of domination defined by the system of power and the accumulation of normalized individuals. This process, which spreads throughout the world out of the centers of the developed countries, must be studied in its historical and geographical specificity. Thus the Third World should be seen as an integral part of this global process, aimed at understanding the particular aspects taken by the introduced disciplinary and normalizing forms.
2. In the Third World, the new forms of domination and subjection (concerning areas such as education, demography, housing, psychiatry, cultural values, ethnic oppression, etc.) are progressively increasing their hold and contributing to the maintenance of economic exploitation. The specific rationalities of these various forms of domination, as well as the forms of resistance presented to them throughout history, should be studied. Moreover, a strategy of resistance must develop, alongside working class and liberation struggles, which consists of localized actions—a plurality of struggles based upon the plurality of interests of those who are the object of power—that take into account those positive cultural practices which have resisted, or which have not yet been invaded by normalizing tendencies.
3. The discourse of development must be dismantled if Third World countries hope (by working with their various material, social and cultural resources) to counteract the penetration of power and to overcome poverty, unemployment and inequality. Detailed studies of specific development practices (e.g. programs or institutions) are likely to contribute to this dismantling process by providing the context for modifying current practices. We also need a language that enables us to conceptualize "developing" social systems in

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a new manner. Otherwise, we may run the risk of not saying anything new because the language does not permit it. It is only by saying no to development (i.e. to the power it creates and the language that supports it) that Third World countries can fruitfully attack adverse conditions with new discourse and knowledge, new ways of fulfilling basic needs, of realizing the possibilities of human beings.

We have tried to answer the question of why the situation of poor countries was problematized during the postwar period, in what ways, and with what consequences—in short, why these various elements were brought together and analyzed as "underdevelopment." This process was associated with new socioeconomic and political factors, new institutions and knowledge and so forth, but the problematization was not so much a result of this situation as a response to it. This response can also be seen as part of a wider strategy—dating as far back as the discovery and conquest of "new worlds"—which has systematically sought to create in these new worlds the idea that westernization (presently along capitalist lines) is a fundamental problem for all societies. It is for this reason that the domain mapped out by development must be studied not only on the basis of Western notions of rationality—science, representation, and so forth—but also within the space created by the trajectories followed by these philosophical and anthropological categories in relation to the three major strategies through which development has been deployed.[25]

Conclusion

It was in the name of modernization and development that an entire productive apparatus took charge of the management of the life of the "new" nations, replacing the older and more visible forms of colonial oppression and bringing forth at the same time a different disposition of the factors of life.

At times, development became so important for these countries that it was acceptable to subject our populations to an infinite variety of interventions, to more powerful forms of power and systems of control; so important that we accepted the price of massive impoverishment, of selling our resources to the most convenient bidder, of degrading our physical and human ecologies, of killing and torturing, of condemning our native populations to near extinction; so important that we began to think of ourselves as "inferior," as "underdeveloped," as "ignorant," that we began to doubt the value of our own cultures and decided to pledge allegiance to the banners

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of reason and faith; so important, finally, that the realization of such "development" clouded the awareness of the impossibility of fulfilling the promises that "development" itself seemed to be making.

It is in this historical sense that underdevelopment can be said to be rooted in a westernization process whose genealogy spans a period of several centuries, and whose latest phase—beginning roughly in 1945—is characterized by a strategy of unprecedented proportions. It is thus confused with the history of the West, and marked by movements of penetration and resistance. But it is not Western forms *per se* that one should object to, nor to the need to preserve the productive achievements of civilizations, but rather to the types of rationality linked to them, to the forms of power and knowledge that characterize them and, finally, to the ways in which they assume responsibility for the conditions of life in order to manage and contain them.

At the end of the first volume of *The History of Sexuality* (Note 1: 157, 159), Foucault mused upon the possibility of a future in which our modern preoccupation with sex would be a strange trait of the past. Perhaps we can also think of our preoccupation with development in a similar manner when we read these lucid paragraphs:

> Perhaps one day people will wonder at this. They will not be able to understand how a civilization so intent on developing enormous instruments of production and destruction found the time and the infinite patience to inquire so anxiously concerning the actual state of sex; people will smile perhaps when they recall that here were men—meaning ourselves—who believed that therein resided a truth every bit as precious as the one they had already demanded from the earth, the stars, and the pure forms of their thought; people will be surprised at the eagerness with which we went about pretending to rouse from its slumber a sexuality which everything—our discourses, our customs, our institutions, our regulations, our knowledges—was busy producing in the light of day and broadcasting to noisy accompaniment ....People will wonder what could have made us so presumptuous; they will look for the reasons that might explain why we prided ourselves on being the first to grant sex the importance we say is its due....
>
> Let us consider the strategems by which we were induced to apply all our skills to discovering its secrets, by which we were attached to the obligation to draw out its truth, and made guilty for having failed to recognize it for so long. These devices are what ought to make us wonder today. Moreover, we need to consider the possibility that one day, perhaps in a different economy of bodies and pleasures, people will no longer quite understand how the ruses of sexuality, and the power that sustains its organization, were able to subject us to that austere monarchy of sex, so that we became dedicated to the endless task of forcing its secret, of exacting the truest of confessions from a shadow.
>
> *The irony of this deployment is in having us believe that our "liberation" is in balance (emphasis added).*[26]

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Notes

1. See especially the following books by M. Foucault: *Madness and Civilization* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1965); *The Birth of the Clinic* (New York: Random House, 1975); *The Order of Things* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971); *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (New York: Harper and Row, 1972); *Discipline and Punish* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1978); *The History of Sexuality* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980). For an excellent presentation of Foucault's work see P. Rabinow and H. Dreyfus, *Michel Foucault: Beyond Structuralism and Hermeneutics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1982).
2. See the Afterword by M. Foucault, "The Subject and Power," in P. Rabinow and H. Dreyfus (Note 1), p. 209.
3. This threefold character of the struggles of resistance is introduced by Foucault in his "Afterword" (Note 2), p. 212.
4. M. Foucault, "Power and Strategies", in M. Morris and P. Patton (eds.), *Michel Foucault: Power, Truth, Strategy* (Sidney: Federal Publications, 1979), p. 55. Foucault's thoughts on power are found in most of the writings produced by him during the decade of the 1970s, as well as in numerous short essays and interviews. See, for instance, *The History of Sexuality*, and C. Gordon (ed.), *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings by Michel Foucault* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), especially pp. 92-102. See also the article by P. Daudi, "The Discourse of Power or the Power of Discourse," *Alternatives IX*, 2, 1983, pp. 317-325, which is very much concerned with Foucault's thoughts on power.
5. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (Note 1), p. 96.
6. The notion of "background of shared practices" is H. Dreyfus's way of explaining what Heidegger calls "primordial understanding," These background practices embody a cultural interpretation of what it means to be a human being, what counts as real, etc. For Heidegger, there are three major ways in which understanding and interpretation (e.g. in the sciences) involve what he calls a pre-understanding, namely, fore-having (roughly, the background practices), fore-sight and fore-conception. See M. Heidegger, *Being and Time* (New York: Harper and Row, 1963), p. 191; see also the section on "Involvement and Significance: The Worldhood of the World," pp. 114-123.

C. Taylor's notion of "intersubjective meanings" or "constitutive self-interpretations" (i.e. those ideas, norms, beliefs, implicit in society's practices) is akin to Dreyfus's notion of background practices. Out of these practices, communities and groups define what Taylor calls "common meanings." One corollary of this conceptualization is that our social sciences, based on an epistemology which gives primacy to the individual, cannot account for the realm of "common meanings," i.e. for the communal, which is the basis of all human action. Another consequence of utmost importance is that it is impossible to have "normal" human or social sciences by following the model of the natural sciences: whereas in the former the background of practices is internal to them, in the natural sciences the background is external and theory may thus succeed by decontextualizing. The background is so pervasive that it cannot be acccunted for by theory. Moreover, in the human sciences, meaning plays an essential role in determining what counts as an event, but it is precisely the contextual meaning that theory must ignore. For a full account of these arguments, see H. Dreyfus, "Holism and Hermeneutics", *Review of Metaphysics*, XXXIV (1), 1980; and "Why Current Studies of Human Capacities Can Never Be Scientific," *Cognitive Science Report Series*, No. 11, Berkeley, January 1984. See also C. Taylor, "Interpretation and the Sciences of Man," in P. Rabinow and M. Sullivan (Eds.), *Interpretative Social Sciences* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979), pp. 25-73; and "Social Theory as Practice," unpublished manuscript, n.d. (1984?).

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7. In a similar vein, Foucault argues that "we can no longer comprehend power as the guarantee of a mode of production; in fact, power is one of the constituent elements of the form of production, it functions at the heart of the mode of production. We have seen that the functioning of the instruments of sequestration (factory, prison, bank, asylum, etc.) was not the guarantee of a mode of production, but precisely the constitution of the mode of production. In fact, the primary aim of sequestration consisted in the subjection of time to this time of production....Instead of this penal system we must speak properly of the disciplinary system, that is, of a society equipped with an apparatus whose form is sequestration, whose aim is the constitution of labour-power and whose instrument is the acquisition of discipline and customs or habits. Since the nineteenth century there has developed and passed into the shadows a series of apparatuses whose aim was the manufacture of discipline, the imposition of compulsions, the forming of habits... the modern sequestration manufactures norms. Constitution of labour-power, apparatus of sequestration: disciplinary society, permanent function of normalisation. That is the series that characterises our type of society." See M. Foucault, "Power and Norm: Notes," in M. Morris and P. Patton (Note 4), pp. 61, 64, 65.

8. See J. Habermas, *Legitimation Crisis* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1975), pp. 33-95.

9. A similar contention is found in late Heidegger, and can also be thought to be implicit in Foucault's work. For Heidegger, there still exist practices which are nonsubjectifying and nonobjectifying, which have resisted the advance of technological society. An alternative understanding of being human may lie embedded in these micro-practices. Heidegger thus envisages a threefold process by which (a) empirical studies produce a concrete demonstration of ways in which human beings are formed by cultural practices which cannot be totally objectified; (b) our current cultural situation is interpreted by finding a paradigm (a technological device for Heidegger, the prison or the confessional for Foucault) in which the dominant objectifying practices can be focused and visualized; and (c) evidence is assembled at the same time of the existence of (micro-)practices not yet under the control of the dominant rationality. These latter practices have the potential to become the focus of a new cultural paradigm. Foucault's project, in this way, can be seen as very similar to Heidegger's. See M. Heidegger, *The Question Concerning Technology* (New York: Harper and Row, 1971), pp. 33-35. See also the articles by Dreyfus (Note 6). The defense and strengthening of those forms which have resisted appropriation are seen as perhaps the only hopeful alternative presently viable in advanced industrial societies. The conclusion to a recent study of American psychiatry, for instance, reads as follows: "To anyone who regards this analysis as pessimistic, we can only answer that it is better to understand how a mechanism operates than to endure its effects in ignorance. One must know that nobody is exempt from the growing importance of social controls before one can prepare to work against them by mapping out and hopefully adding to the last remaining territory not yet fallen under the sway of the old guardians of law and order and the new engineers of the mind." See M. Castell, F. Castell, and A. Lovell, *The Psychiatric Society* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1982), p. 320.

10. The emergence of the new communication technologies and their impact were the subject of a recent UNESCO conference held in conjunction with the Istituto della Enciclopedia Italiana in Rome, 12-16 December, 1983. See *Symposium on the Cultural, Social and Economic Impact of the New Communication Technologies*, Final Report, UNESCO COM-84/WS/11, Paris, March 1984.

11. A similar contention informs Edward Said's book, *Orientalism* (New York: Vintage, 1979), an excellent study of the systematic creation of the "Orient" by the discourses of writers, colonial authorities, scholars, and so forth. According to Said, this discourse is based upon a predicated ontological distinction between East and West, whereby the

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"Orient" is essentialized and assigned a homogeneous character, very much in the same manner in which the "Third World" is assumed to have a homogeneous nature (in spite of the enormous differences exhibited by the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America that compose it). Said also points out that for this discourse of orientalism to make sense depends more on the culture that produces it (viz. the "developed" countries) than on the "Orient"/"Third World" itself. In a similar vein, we can say that the Third World is "underdeveloped" not only because it was discovered to be so, but also because, through this discourse of development, it was made susceptible to underdevelopment. In many ways, the discourse of development is more a sign of power over the Third World than a truth about it.

12. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (Note 1), p. 11.

13. This section on "The Discourse of Development" forms part of a dissertation I am writing. A more detailed account of this section can be found in A. Escobar, "Discourse and Power: An Historical Perspective on the Formation of Development Theory and Practice (1945-1955)," presented at UNESCO's meeting on "Philosophical Investigations of the Fundamental Problems of Endogenous Development," Libreville, Gabon, 19-22 December, 1983 (See UNESCO SS-83/CONF. 618/15, Paris, November 1983).

14. For a more complete account of these historical conditions, as well as a list of works from this period, see A. Escobar (Note 13). The first mission sent by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development to the Third World was the one that visited Colombia from 11 July to 5 November, 1949. The mission included 14 international advisors in a large variety of fields: economics, transportation, industry, highways and waterways, railroads, petroleum refineries, national accounts, community facilities, agriculture and health, etc. Working closely with the mission was a similar group of Colombian advisors and experts. Based on the large body of information collected, the mission elaborated a detailed and comprehensive development plan for the country, including concrete goals, quantifiable targets, etc. Its report embodied the totally new scale and style of assistance that was then emerging. See International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *The Basis of a Development Program for Colombia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1950).

15. For a substantial list of works written during this period, see A. Escobar (Note 13). See also the excellent article by C.E. Platsch, "The Three Worlds, or the Division of Social Scientific Labor, circa 1950-1975," *Comparative Studies in Society and History 23*, 4, 1981. His article traces the origin of the notion of "three worlds" within the context of the "cold war" and modernization theory. A few of the works of the period can be mentioned here: United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Measures for the Economic Development of Underdeveloped Countries* (New York, May 1951); Milbank Memorial Fund, *International Approaches to Problems of Underdeveloped Countries* (New York, 1948); United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *Methods of Financing Economic Development in Under-Developed Countries* (New York, 1949); R. Nurkse, *Problems of Capital Formation in Underdeveloped Countries* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1953); W.A. Lewis, *The Principles of Economic Planning* (London: D. Dobson, 1949), esp. Appendix II: "On Planning in Backward Countries;" H. Leibenstein, *A Theory of Economic-Demographic Development* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954); United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs, *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Change* (New York, 1953); H. Frankel, *The Economic Impact on Underdeveloped Societies* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953); W.A. Lewis, *The Theory of Economic Growth* (Homewood, IL: R.D. Irwin, 1955); N.S. Buchanan and H.S. Ellis, *Approaches to Economic Development* (New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1955). Studies that deal with factors such as population and food are too numerous to list here. On the other hand, a number of

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works on economic development, although not dealing explicitly with underdevelopment were published during the early 1950s by authors such as W.W. Rostow and C. Clark. The writing of economic development treatises took off in the late 1950s.

16. The methodological approach of this subsection draws heavily on M. Foucault's *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (Note 1).

17. An analysis of the basis on which economics achieved its scientific status is found in C. Taylor, "Social Theory as Practice" (Unpublished manuscript, 1984?); see also the very interesting article by A. Sanz de Santamaria, "Discurso Economico y Poder," *Texto y Contexto*, Vol. I, No. 2 (Bogotá: Universidad de los Andes, 1984). For the evolution of the "art of government" since the sixteenth century and its relation to political economy and disciplinary forms, see M. Foucault, "On Governmentality", *Ideology and Consciousness*, (London), 6, Autumn 1979. See also J. Donzelot, *The Policing of Families* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1979). An interesting account of "The Histories of Economic Discourse," with special reference to the identification of the founding of political economy with the publication of Adam Smith's *Wealth of Nations*, is found in K. Tribe, *Genealogies of Capitalism* (Atlantic Highland, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1981), originally published in *Economy and Society*, Vol. 6, 1977, pp. 314-345. A similar line is pursued by S. Gudeman in his article, "Ricardo's Representations," *Representations*, 5, Winter 1984, pp. 90-110.

18. For an elaboration of the concepts of social and sectoral disarticulation in peripheral capitalist societies, see S. Amin, *Unequal Development* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976); and S. Amin, *Accumulation on a World Scale* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1974). The specificity and implications of this disarticulation for the agricultural sector has been explored by A. de Janvry, *The Agrarian Question and Reformism in Latin America* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981).

19. The experience of rural cooperatives as a case of "intellectual colonialism" has been interestingly analyzed by O. Fals Borda, *Ciencia Propia y Colonialismo Intelectual* (Bogotá: Carlos Valencia ed., 1972). For an analysis of literacy approaches during the past three decades, see A. Pedrosa, "El Trabajo Alfabetizador Entre los Sectores Populares", *Revista Cleba* (Medellín, Colombia), No. 4, 1981. A lucid analysis of the myth of participation in Third World politics and development is found in R. Kothari, "Party and State in Our Times: The Rise of Non-party Political Formations," *Alternatives IX*, 4, 1984, pp. 541-564. Finally, within the field of development proper, the themes of participation and local organizations were the subject of large research projects in the seventies and early eighties in US universities (e.g. Cornell and Berkeley).

20. This point is forcefully made by R. Kothari in relation to participation. He also points out how, paradoxically, "The more the economics of development and the politics of development are kept out of reach of the masses, the more they (the masses) are asked to 'participate' in them. For they are told that it is for them that 'development' takes place." See R. Kothari (Note 19), p. 542.

21. PAR was launched internationally at a world symposium held in Cartagena, Colombia, in 1977. See *Ciencia y Crítica en las Ciencias Sociales* (Bogotá: Fundación Punta de Lanza, 1978), 2 vols. An excellent review of a number of important PAR projects in Colombia, Nicaragua and Mexico has recently been completed and will be published shortly by the International Labour Organisation. See O. Fals Borda, *Knowledge and People's Power*, forthcoming (Geneva: ILO, Fall 1985). On PAR, see also, for instance, Md. Anisur Rahman, "The Theory and Practice of Participatory Action Research," in O. Fals Borda (Ed), *The Challenge of Social Change* (London: Sage, 1985); Y. Kassam and K. Mustafa, *Participatory Research: An Emerging Alternative Methodology in Social Science Research* (New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia, n.d.); *Participatory Research: An Introduction* (New Delhi: Society for Participatory Research in Asia, 1982);

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Vio Grossi, *et al.*, *Investigación Participativa y Praxis Rural* (Lima: Rosca Azul ed., 1982); and B. Hall, "Knowledge as a Commodity and Participatory Research," *Prospects 9*, 4, 1979.

22. A first reaction of many people participating in PAR projects is that "we are not afraid of speaking any longer." This liberating assertion also highlights the important role of language, usually emphasized by oppressed groups in their processes of liberation (think, for instance, of the feminist insistence on "naming" the world).

23. The issue of grass-roots activism and nonparty formations is discussed by Kothari (Note 19). See also C.F. Alger and S. Mendlovitz, "Grass-roots Activism in the United States: Global Implications?" *Alternatives IX*, 4, 1984, pp. 447-474, for a discussion of the possibilities of strategic cooperation between "globalists" and "localists."

24. M. Foucault, *Power/Knowledge: Selected Interviews and Other Writings* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1980), pp. 81-85.

25. A complete genealogy of the construction of the Third World would have to start with the discovery and conquest of the new territories during the first phase of European expansion. The three major strategies of the deployment of development undoubtedly have their antecedents in a number of colonial (and, in the case of Latin America, post-colonial) enterprises, institutions, fields of knowledge, and so forth. One may think, for instance, of the enormous body of travel narratives that, from the sixteenth century on, constituted one of the main discursive spaces in which Europe represented the rest of the world to itself as an ideological weapon for its own economic and political expansion. One can also think of the emergence of the notions of "primitive" or "archaic" societies, associated with the development of Western ethnography, or of the transference or voluntary adoption, since an early date in the colonial period, of techniques (e.g. of city planning, public hygiene, education, administration, etc.) with high disciplinary and normalizing contents or, finally, of the crucial influence exerted by European ideas or movements, e.g. positivism and modernism) upon the thought and movements of, say, Latin American countries. This genealogy (which would necessarily have to cross philosophical, anthropological, and economico-political trajectories) would undoubtedly be of great value and interest.

For an account of travel narratives within this context, see D. Defert, "The Collection of the World: Accounts of Voyages from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries," *Dialectical Anthropology*, (Amsterdam), No. 7, 1982, pp. 11-20; M. Pratts, "Peripheral Vision: Travel Writing and the Ideologies of Imperialism," (unpublished manuscript, Dept. of Spanish and Portuguese, Stanford University, 1983). Columbus's discourse about the "New World" is interestingly analyzed by J. Rabasa in "A Hand: The Travail of Columbus," (unpublished manuscript, Dept. of History of Consciousness, University of California at Santa Cruz), which contains a detailed textual analysis of Columbus's travel journals.

Some examples of studies of the penetration or adoption of forms of discipline and normalization in the Third World prior to 1945 are J.L. Abu-Lughod, *Rabat: Urban Apartheid in Morocco* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1980). For the practices of urban planning by French colonial authorities as a means of controlling the Arab population: R. Machado, *Danação da Norma: Medicina Social e Constituição da Psiquiatria no Basil* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Graal, 1978), which is a study of the development of social medicine and psychiatry in Brazil, following a Foucauldian perspective; and two studies of pedagogical discourses and practices in Colombia since the seventeenth century: O.L. Zualuaga de E., *El Maestro y el Saber Pedagógico en Colombia, 1821-1848* (Medellín, Colombia: Universidad de Antioquia, Facultad de Educacion, 1984); and A. Martinez and R. Silva, *Dos Estudios sobre Educación en la Colonia* (Bogotá: U. Pedagógica Nacional, 1983?).

26. M. Foucault, *The History of Sexuality* (Note 1), pp. 157, 159.

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